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725 Äußerste an, ihn fortzubringen, weil es für eine besondere Schmach gehalten wird, lebend oder tot in die Hände der Feinde zu gerathen."[25]

After every shot the Rąmkõ'kamekra are accustomed to give their buttocks a resounding smack with the palms of their hands and to utter piercing, quavering cries while slapping their lips in rapid succession. The "glowing embers" at the tip of the incendiary arrow generally consist of a kerneled maize cob; in its flight the resistance of the air produces a blaze.

726 In fighting Neobrazilians the Timbira attacked either single individuals or an estate, immediately withdrawing after the first clash. Nevertheless, panic preceded 177 them, as witnessed by Ribeiro:[26]

...pois temos observado em repetidas occasiões que á primeira voz que se ouve no sertão como dizendo:—'Ahi vem gentios, são muitos, ja invadiram tal fazenda, mataram tantas pessoas, não ha quem possa resistir-lhe'—não se averigua mais nada, transmitten os habitantes seu terror uns aos outros, largam os fazendeiros suas fazendas sem saber a quem, e por toda parte fogem como carneiros sem saber de que.

(...for we have repeatedly observed that with the first cry uttered in the sertão that "Indians are coming, there are so many, they have already attacked such and such a fazenda and killed so many persons, no one can resist them," people do not investigate further, but one settler imparts his alarm to the next, the fazendeiros surrendering their fazendas without knowing to whom and fleeing like sheep without knowing from what.)

725 Against the bandeiras the Indians sought refuge in the steep mesas scattered throughout Timbira territory. That it was sometimes inadvisable to pursue them is 177 proved by the destruction of Manoel José de Assumpção's bandeira at the Serra da Desordem by the Pụkóbye in 1814. The Timbira also applied to warfare their hunting technique of the surround with firing of the grass, as demonstrated by the case of Manoel Lopes' bandeira, which was almost destroyed by a fire in a dry bamboo thicket.[27]

● 727 The Rąmkõ'kamekra took no prisoners, but indiscriminately knocked down opponents with their clubs. They neither mutilated corpses nor took home any part of the body as a trophy. According to Ribeiro, however, the Pụkóbye in 1814 captured a girl alive at the destruction of Porto da Chapada (=Grajahú);[28] and in 1808 the Čą'kamekra are reported to have taken along the ears of a boy killed near Principe Regente.

266 The Čą'kamekra have been accused of anthropophagy but probably only to facilitate application to them of the special laws against cannibals decreed by the Portuguese government. Ribeiro explains the origin of the report:

The Čą'kamekra had forced a bandeira of two hundred men to retreat and had killed the leader, Eugenio Antonio, whom his followers buried on the spot. Another bandeira of two hundred men headed by Manuel Lopes attempted to avenge the defeat in the following year, but with no more success. When they got to Antonio's grave, the bones were found to have been disinterred, scattered, and charred "as though the attached flesh had been roasted and even with traces of gnawing."

But Ribeiro himself states that this does not prove Čą'kamekra cannibalism.[29]

701 *Organisation.*—The raids of the Rąmkõ'kamekra were executed either by all warriors on the councilors' decision or by single individuals on their own responsibility. Youths figured as "warriors" (pep) from the close of their initiation to the close of the next younger age-class's initiation, that is, for about ten years. The age-class leaders directly headed the warriors, but the real command was vested in

[25] Pohl, Reise, 2:206.
[26] Memoria, § 74.
[27] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 79.
[28] *Ibid.*, § 38.
[29] *Ibid.*, § 37.

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a war chief, haprãra, specially chosen by the council from among the experienced braves, several of whom usually accompanied the expedition and without whose advice the age-class leaders would not take any steps.

By way of avenging a kinsman's death a single man might lie in ambush near the enemy's paths and water supply; or maternal uncle and nephew would unite in this way.

According to a Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition a woman whose son had gained a warrior's status sent him out to fetch the skeletal remains of her brother, whom the Neobrazilians had killed near a settlement. She gave an exact description of the site, which was at the foot of a big tree, in the center of a little wooded island by the headwaters of a certain brook. The youth set out alone and found the bones at the spot indicated. He collected them, packed them up, and carried them to a mountain halfway from his home. There he laid them down, as well as his provender and everything he was able to spare, then he once more went back to the settlement, carrying only his weapons. Here he lay in ambush not far from the houses, near a road with many footprints. He waited for a long time, then two men with rifles came past, whom he followed. After a while one of them lingered behind to ease himself, and the youth utilized this opportunity to lay him low with a club. The companion heard the noise, turned back, and cocked the trigger when he caught sight of the Indian, but before he could shoot the young man had killed him too. Then he picked up the rifles and fled, for the inmates of the houses had taken cognizance of the incident and immediately gave pursuit. He ran all day, but his pursuers would not give up, so that at last his strength was exhausted. With a final exertion he climbed the mountain where he had left his uncle's bones. He was unable to move farther and prepared to fight. From his height he saw his pursuers arriving at the foot of the cliff, but they were even more fatigued than himself, hence unable to ascend the mountain. Accordingly, after a rest they turned back. The warrior recovered the bag with the remains, also his baggage, and returned to his village, where he put down the two rifles in the plaza before the chiefs and elders. The trigger of one of them was still cocked, for at that time these Indians did not yet understand how to release it.

Weapons.—The principal weapon was the club, that is, especially the two-edged sword club (pl. 8), which terminates in a hefty, long point so that it serves equally for thrusting and striking. Sometimes it was also thrown short distances, as stated by Pohl for the Põrekamekra. The Rąmkõ'kamekra had special throwing clubs with a head set off from the rest of the weapon in the form of a short cylinder.

A few remarks may be offered as to the anchor ax, kạ'ire (Pụkóbye: kạ'hire; Kre' pụ'mkateye: kạyé). According to Pohl, the Põrekamekra used it both as a badge of office and a weapon:

> Als Abzeichen ihrer Würde trugen der Kapitão und dessen Unterführer ein eigen geformtes Beil aus Granit unter den Achseln. Dieses Beil, halbmondförmig geschliffen, 7 Zoll lang, ist an einem kurzen Stiel von 10 Zoll Länge befestigt, von welchem rotgefärbte Baumwollschnüre herabhängen. An beyden Enden dieses Stieles ist ein dünnes Band befestigt, vermöge welchem das Beil auf der Achsel festgehalten wird. Es gelang mir nur mit vieler Mühe durch Vermittlung Carvalhos und gegen Erstattung eines Gegengeschenkes, aus mehreren Messern bestehend, ein solches Beil zu erhalten. Sie gaben sie sehr ungern weg, da ihre Verfertigung sehr mühsam ist. Im Kriege wissen sie dieses Beil mit besonderer Gewandtheit zu führen und es hat die Bestimmung, vorzugsweise den Feinden die Köpfe zu spalten.

Among the Eastern Timbira the anchor ax is—at least nowadays—far rarer than among the Apinayé, whose small ceremonial form is wholly lacking. I have seen only a specimen apiece among the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the Apạ'nyekra and have re-

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ceived a blade as a surface find from Krĩkatí territory. Several Western Gaviões specimens have been published; still another, reputedly Krahõ', departs so widely from all other Timbira equivalents in its decoration that I am inclined to doubt the provenience assigned to it.[80]

In my day the anchor axes did not linger even in ceremonial usage. I obtained my Rąmkõ'kamekra sample from an aged Indian woman reckoned my "aunt," but who was nevertheless censured by her other relatives for giving it to me. She had had it in custody since the death of its last owner, her brother Krąmpę'n. Of an afternoon or evening he was said to have occasionally held it in the plaza while singing "Yãã heyõ kąire yẽẽ!," as well as the names of his ancestors. He had obtained the weapon from his uncle, Mąyapíri, a great warrior who is supposed to have used it in actual combat.

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Slayer's seclusion.—The slayer of an enemy is called hukanã'ra (persevercr; aukanã', persevere, imperative), or hąprẽ' (brave one). Directly after the killing he paints himself with charcoal and draws a broad red stripe across his mouth. As soon as he gets back to the village he goes into a month's retreat, during which period he sits on a special little platform bed and may neither laugh nor wash himself. His sustenance is restricted to roasted maize. At the close of his seclusion his mother or sister prepares manioc paste and his maternal uncle goes hunting, the flesh of the game killed providing material for three meat pies nearly a meter in diameter. The killer takes a bath and is decorated with falcon down. After the usual afternoon log race a youth brings firewood to the plaza and kindles a fire, near which the men, led by a precentor, sing the same song characteristic of the hõkrowatiyõ ceremony of the pepyé initiation (p. 198 f.). The decorated slayer steps among them and shouts a statement about his exploit. Before sunset the solemnity is over.

On the following morning the three pies are deposited on the boulevard in front of the slayer's maternal home. Admonished by the elders seated in the plaza to go through the whole procedure in proper fashion, the killer slowly advances toward the pies. Making the sign of a deer with the index and middle fingers of his uplifted hands, he imitates the snort of a shy deer. Thus he leaps over the food and proceeds toward the councilors, to whom he presents himself. These then have the pies fetched and divide them up among themselves.

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Treaties and alliances.—Formal treaties and alliances occurred both between Timbira groups and between such and Neobrazilians. To be sure, Ribeiro, supported in this by Pohl, expresses a very derogatory opinion as to the value of such agreements:

> Sua inclinação para o roubo estranho é por tal forma excessiva que rompe toda a alliança logo que possam furtar uns poucos de pregos velhos.
>
> (Their inclination to rob outsiders is so extreme that they break any treaty as soon as they have a chance to steal a few old nails.)[81]

However, Ribeiro himself describes several instances in which a solemnly concluded pact was ruptured on trifling pretexts not by the Indians, but by the Neobrazilians. In 1815 he witnessed the entrance of from five to six hundred Põrekamekra into São Pedro de Alcantara in order to make peace:

> ... ás sete horas da manhã, entraram desarmados na povoação formando cada sexo uma columna que marchavam parallelas entre si, e á testa dellas vinha o seu chefe maioral chamado Coerit, homem com 50 annos de edade, muito respeitado entre os seus, e de uma conducta tal, nesta administração que não parecia um barbaro selvagem. ... Traziam elles todos uns ramos verdes nas mãos,

[80] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 69 f., 126–128; Rydén, Brazilian Anchor Axes, figs. 3 E, 6 C, 6 F; Simões da Silva, Machado crescente.

[81] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 20. Pohl, *supra*.